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THE CATHOLIC BILL.

Kensington, 24th March, 1825.

THE *budget-speech* of Mr. ROBINSON, as far as relates to the paper-money, which is all of it that is worth notice; the *colony-speech* of Mr. HUSKISSON, as far as relates to Jonathan, which is all of *that* which is worth looking at; Sir FRANCIS BURDETT's works of supererogation in the cause of aristocracy; his *very sensible* observations as to the *corn-laws*; the MARQUIS OF LANSDOWN's letter to Dr. BIRKBECK on the Spitalfields *Mechanics' Institute*, and the progress of the latter in the brilliant enterprise to make us "*a' enlightened*" and to fill us with "*antellact*," brought,

ready bottled up, from the north of the Tweed; the regret and disappointment of the MORNING CHRONICLE, that Mr. PEEL did not introduce into his *Police-bill*, a legal establishing of *Newspaper government*, by authorising them to publish what they pleased under the name of "*Police-reports*," and, of course, compelling the Justices to admit their reporters to be present at all examinations: all these subjects call for attention; but, the letters of Mr. O'CONNELL and of Mr. LAWLESS, relative to the CATHOLIC BILL, claim precedence, because they relate to a matter in which the feelings and interests of millions are immediately engaged. There is also an article of the London MORNING CHRONICLE, which article relates to this *bill*, and which must not pass unnoticed.

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[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.]

Taking these in the order in which I have named them, I begin by inserting the letter of Mr. O'CONNELL, which is addressed to the CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION. I insert the letter with pain; but, my readers have a right to expect from me as full an account as I can give of the whole of this transaction.

"To the Chairman of the Catholic Association.

"London, March 16, 1825.

SIR—I feel it my duty once more to address the Catholic Association; and, feeling that I do so for the last time, I cannot but experience some painful emotions, mitigated, however, by the present cheering prospect of our affairs, and subdued, both in tone and temper, by that dutiful and willing submission which we have always paid to the law of the land.

"But while we submit cheerfully to the law, we do not and cannot forget what we owe to ourselves and our country, as Irishmen and as friends of constitutional liberty; and in both these capacities I think it right to express, distinctly and explicitly, the pleasure and the pride I feel at being a Member of the Catholic Association. It will, during my entire life, be a comfort and consolation to me that I was an active Member of that Body; and if any stone shall mark my name after this mortal coil is with me at an end, I fondly hope that it will record, as my best title to Irish gratitude, 'He was a Member of the Catholic Association of Ireland.'

"I cannot, and I am sure I do not, desire to forget, that when the Association commenced, all Ireland was in a state of trouble and confusion. In the North, blood, Catholic blood, was shed by the Orange factions, and it was shed unrequited. Whilst in several districts of that same North, the traitorous Ribbonman held, in the open day, his daring, and almost rebellious, processions. In the other districts of Ireland, in no less, I think, than eleven counties, the Constitution was suspended—trial by Jury abrogated; and whilst crimes of the darkest die, and murders of an assassin-like character multiplied the odious, but, perhaps, then necessary Insurrection Act, swept the land of many a victim—and seemed to appeal to force alone as the only instrument to extort a reluctant submission.

"Such was the state of Ireland, when the Catholic Association was formed; I am not writing its history, I am only tracing results—such was the state of Ireland when we began our labours—and before many months had elapsed—and before 10,000*l.* of the Catholic Rent was collected, the scenes of blood and slaughter ceased—all was quiet and peace in the formerly disturbed districts—harmony, which was supposed to be banished for ever from Ireland, returned—shall I say, at our voice—the Irish peasant, when he found he could procure a hope of justice, ceased to seek revenge—and many of the best and wisest of our respected Protestant countrymen joined us in seeking for that, without which, permanent tranquillity in Ireland cannot be expected—an equalization of civil rights for all classes of faithful subjects.

"We have, however, been suppressed: we have been arrested in a career of great and general utility. But we have been arrested by the hand of the law—by the strong arm of the Legislature—and nothing can so completely demonstrate the purity

of our intentions, as the ready, cheerful, and dutiful submission, which we are all prepared to show to the law that is now about to dissolve our Association.

"In one thing we certainly were in fault—we did not take sufficient pains to enlighten the people of England upon the details of our views and wishes—we allowed a partisan and shameless press in Ireland to usurp a sway over a portion of the English mind. Falsehoods, which were so gross and absurd to us in Ireland, who knew the facts, as to be treated with silent contempt, were received by Englishmen, who were ignorant of the unblushing baseness of our Orange writers, as admitted truths. An impression was thus made against us here, which alone is sufficient to account for our fall, whilst it leaves untouched the purity of the motives of *many, many* persons, who appeared to be our violent enemies.

"But let these topics pass, and for ever—we submit to the law, and shall seek for redress by means only, which the law will not merely sanction, but approve of. There remain many and abundant constitutional sources of relief—there remain many and abundant, and legal means, of seeking for redress of our grievances—besides, every thing confirms me in the full conviction, that Emancipation is at hand, and that this Session will not pass over without laying the ground-work of lasting harmony, not only in Ireland, but between the two countries.

"Emancipation is at hand, unless we retard or postpone it by senseless calumnies, or unreasonable apprehensions. The cause is now in this country taken under the guidance of good sense, good feelings, rational judgment, and most conciliatory disposition. Men of all parties in Parliament combine to arrange the details of our emancipation, in that spirit which the best friends of Ireland and of England have long

wished to see put in action. There is in their true wisdom nothing of haste or intemperance. Every detail of the great measure will be brought before the public deliberately, and if there be any thing suggested which could alarm either Protestant or Catholic timidity, abundant time will be given to canvass the merits of the proposed arrangement, and nothing will be concluded on, without affording sufficient opportunity to oppose any thing worthy of opposition.

"In the mean time, Mr. Lawless, who calls himself a Member of the Delegation, but is not so, as I perceive by the terms of the vote which appointed our Deputation—

[Here there were cries of "No, no; he is not a Member of the Deputation."]

"Mr. Lawless has hastily appealed to the public, without consultation with, or the concurrence of, any other person. I do not now blame him—I write merely to vindicate myself, and to remove the mis-statements which appear in his letter.

"Mr. Lawless has indeed charged me with injustice, and with a dereliction of religious principle; he has charged me with consenting to rob the poor and disgrace the Catholic Church in Ireland. He has to these crimes attributed the most base of all possible motives—personal advantages to myself. 'A silk gown,' he says, 'is to be my reward!!!' To these accusations I plead, not guilty. They are unfounded—totally unfounded. I fling the shield of my character between me and the base accusation.

[The reading of this passage occasioned a simultaneous burst of applause, and three distinct rounds of cheering followed it.]

"Personal advantage!" When have I sought it?—But pardon me, Sir, I cannot condescend to justify myself in detail. I will trespass on

the Association merely to state the real facts. They are these:—

“In the first place, there is as yet nothing arranged with respect to a provision for our Clergy, or with regard to any change in the elective franchise. It would have been wise to await such an arrangement before it were condemned in terms of harshness and reproach.

“Secondly—The Catholic Delegation is no party whatever to any such arrangement. We have not made any bargain or contract upon that subject; nor has any one of us made any such contract; nor is it at all necessary that we should. If the Legislature thinks fit to legislate on these subjects, it will do so without deeming it wise or dignified to consult us.

“Thirdly—Although a provision for our Clergy is spoken of, it certainly has not been spoken of in any shape which could excite the least alarm in the mind of the most scrupulous Catholic; and as to the principle of that measure, is there any one who imagines that the Catholic people of Ireland can be finally admitted into the station of subjects, so as to constitute a portion of the universal British nation, without our Clergy having a natural and just claim on the State for a provision? If there be, I confess I am not of that opinion. I own, I think, that our Clergy ought to receive a support from that State, which we, the Catholics, contribute to maintain with our monies and our blood; and as to the details of that provision, are they not safe in the hands of our excellent Prelates, subject also, as they must be, to the inspection of all the people, Protestant and Catholic, of the empire, before they can be finally adopted, or made into a law?

“Fourthly—As to the change in the elective franchise, that is matter of serious consideration, and must be weighed well before it is adopted.

At present it is but in embryo, and may never attain shape or regular form. There are, probably, known of it but these things—that it is not intended to alter the qualification in towns or cities—that it is not intended to alter the qualification in Ireland, where it is the same as it is in England, namely, where the person has the fee simple, or in other words, a lease for ever, without being subject to rent—that it is not intended to take away the franchise from any person now registered during such registry—that in all probability it will not be taken away from any now existing freeholder during his present lease—that ten pounds will, at the highest, be the lowest qualification—perhaps it will not exceed 5*l*.

“Is there in these suggestions any thing to alarm the timid? Can we forget the report made to the Association by the Rev. Mr. Duggan, of several poor persons who, to his knowledge, were compelled to swear to a freehold qualification *which they had not*, under the peril of having all their property sold for rent, and themselves expelled their farms? The Rev. Mr. Duggan transmitted to the Association the names of the landlords who perpetrated this cruelty. Are we ignorant of how many such scenes exist in Ireland? Are we insensible to the perjury thus generated?

“But let me ask, will not the stimulus to make freeholders exist, after Emancipation, as powerfully as at present? It certainly will—and if it do exist, is it robbing the poor to make a law which shall compel any landlord who wishes to make 40*s*. freeholders, to make to each of them a lease for ever without rent—instead of a lease for one life, at a rent which leaves the qualification merely nominal, and puts the freeholder completely in the power of the landlord? Would it be robbing the poor, if the landlords, instead of a 40*s*. freehold, gave a freehold of 10*l*.

annual value? Let it be recollected, that landlords will, after the proposed measure, want 10*l.* freeholders, as they now want 40*s.* freeholders. They may, perhaps, not make so many of the one as of the other—but every 10*l.* freeholder would be a comfortable person—who will say, that the 40*s.* persons are so?

“I must now conclude, I have not time to pursue the subject, but I have written enough to weary the Association—and also, I hope, enough to convince the Irish people that I am incapable of betraying their interests, or of being actuated by motives of a selfish or interested nature. My judgment may be mistaken, but I will yield to no man in purity of motive, and in honest zeal for liberty, and “the faith of my fathers.”

“I close my last words to the Catholic Association with the strong hope, that the spirit of conciliation which has sprung up in England, will be met by a corresponding glow of discreet, but at the same time generous confidence; and that, flinging away idle fears and old jealousies, we shall evince a cordial and lively disposition to make such an arrangement as shall be satisfactory to all parties; and shall demonstrate our unaffected desire to consolidate the strength, and increase the security of the Empire.

“I have the honour to be,

“Your faithful Servant,

“DANIEL O’CONNELL.”

Before I remark on this letter of Mr. O’CONNELL, it will be best to insert that of Mr. LAWLESS, on which I have no remark to make, indeed, but which I insert in justice to that gentleman, his con-

duct having been censured in the letter of Mr. O’CONNELL. They are now friends, and such, I hope, they will always continue.

“To the Editor of the Courier.

“Tavistock Hotel, March 21.

“SIR,—The candour which should distinguish a Public Journal, conducted with such acknowledged talents as yours, will, perhaps, secure for me a place in the columns of your Paper to be published to-morrow. I have read, though not with much surprise, after what has already occurred, a letter addressed by Mr. O’Connell to Mr. Sugrue, a member of the Catholic Association, and read by Mr. Maurice O’Connell at its last meeting. So far as the writer of that letter discusses the terms of the extraordinary Parliamentary arrangement about to be acted upon immediately by Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Plunkett, I shall not offer any opinion at present. Mr. O’Connell is obviously struggling, in every sentence, to make the best defence he can for the credulous simplicity with which he embraced a series of measures which would make the Emancipation of the Irish Catholic the curse of the English Protestant—which exposes the Irish Catholic to the charge of sacrificing one of the most valued and sacred rights of man, namely, the right of his elective franchise, to the securing of places in Parliament, the Bench, the Bar, and the Magistracy, to the comparative few who would hereafter enjoy them; but this sacrifice was not enough—the Clergy should be bribed to desert the standard of the people—their feelings should be alienated, and the parental and powerfully moral influence which they have exercised for ages, was to be, if possible, destroyed. I have already, in a former letter, pointed out

all the calamities which would flow to Ireland, and to England *also*, from Mr. Plunkett's Bill of Emancipation, which Mr. O'Connell has lauded to the skies. In that opinion, by whom am I joined? By the most powerful mind that ever shed light on the political world.—Mr. Cobbett, to whose intellect *enemies* as well as *friends* bow with equal reverence, has given me his giant support. The pure and classic mind of the *Examiner* makes common cause with me. The *Truth Teller*, a paper devoted to the liberty of the Irish Catholic, denounces, in no ambiguous phrase, the arrangement which Mr. O'Connell (strange to say) recommends to his countrymen—but on this measure of *fraud* and *delusion* I shall say no more. I am now compelled, in *self-defence*, to do that which all men should avoid, and which I would recommend O'Connell not to persevere in, because it sickens the reader, and makes the latter believe that the *public man* is actuated by *self* and not by *country*; therefore, I would say to O'Connell what *Hamlet* says to the players, "I pray you avoid it." In Mr. O'Connell's letter to Mr. Sugrue, there is the following sentence:—"In the mean time, Mr. Lawless, who calls himself a Member of the Delegation, but is not so, as I perceive by the terms of the vote which appointed our deputation." This is a grave charge, Mr. Editor, but it has been disposed of long before the letter of Mr. O'Connell had been committed to your types. This very—what shall I call it—disengenuous charge of Mr. O'Connell was settled on Saturday last, at the York Hotel, in Albemarle-street—my Lord Killeen in the Chair. I heard it whispered at that meeting by a gentleman whose name I will not now mention, that my particular avocation in life, which he was pleased to denominate "*literary*," did not come under the *terms of a vote*, which particularly denominated "*Lords, Barons, Archbishops, Bishops, Lawyers, Attorneys, Merchants, Manufac-*

turers, and Sales-masters." Here no persons under the denomination of literary men *were to be found*, and for this omission by the drawer of the vote, I was, very much contrary to the wishes of some gentlemen present, excluded from the circle of the Deputation.* This was certainly an ingenious device to get rid of a man who had been a sore thorn in their side; but I instantly repelled the unworthy artifice, by telling my Lord Killeen, who presided, that I would make it a personal insult in any man who would dare make the charge against me a second time, and punish him accordingly. This prompt assertion of my own character brought out a conversation which ended in the manly and honourable declaration of the Noble Lord in the chair—that he always considered Mr. Lawless a *member of the Deputation*, and expressed his regret that such a conversation should have ever arisen in that room. Here, Sir, you will observe, that a man honestly asserting his opinions, will find refuge in the bosom of a gentleman from the quibbles of sepecial pleading. In this instance the conduct of Lord Killeen has been like that of his venerated father—upright, manly, fearless, and disdaining to mingle in the feelings of any cabal whatever. But Lord Killeen did not stop here. He wished that all the bad feelings which were expressed that day should be forgotten, and that no such doubts as were then entertained, should exist hereafter. Mr. O'Connell met me on Sunday, at the same rooms, and was the first to come up and shake hands with me. Sure I am,

* I discussed the provisions of the Bill of Emancipation for two several days, in the presence of Sir Francis Burdett, at the Rooms, in Albemarle-street, and on these days no objection of this kind was whispered by any body. I dined with the Deputation at Mr. Cobbett's, where no conversation of this kind was hazarded.

that *he would not*, after such a conclusion to one of the most painful proceedings I ever was engaged in, suffer *my name* to go forth as it appeared in your paper of Monday. Of Mr. O'Connell I have always thought with honour, and with all the gratitude due to an Irishman of great talents who devoted himself to the freedom of his native land. How painful then for me, who could have no object in view, but the *justice* and *truth* of the cause I pleaded, to part company with one of my oldest friends. I never imputed improper motives to Mr. O'Connell—I lamented the absence of that fine political intellect which always distinguished him.—But if I concede purity of motive to those who advocate the *miserable conditions* of Mr. Plunkett's *unconditional* Emancipation Bill, what man will dare impeach the purity of mine? I should be glad to *see him*, for then the contest would be quickly decided. I have to ask your pardon for trespassing so much on your columns, but the impartial dispensation of justice will, I trust, immediately suggest, that he who is thus assailed, and has a character to maintain, should not be *condemned unheard*.

"I have the honour to remain,

"Yours very truly,

"JOHN LAWLESS."

Now, as to the letter of Mr. O'CONNELL, as far as relates to the *utility* as well as the *legality* of the CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION, I fully agree with him. But, I will, now that my remarks can do the Association no harm, say, that which was ready to drop from my pen many times before; namely,

that I never could see the *prudence* in the members of that body praising the insurgents of *South America*. It was curious enough to hear the *Bishop of Litchfield*, at a *Bible-meeting*, too, praising the South American revolutionists for having spread *light* where the darkness of *Popery* had so long prevailed, for having *attacked Popery* in her "*fastnesses*"; and, the next day, to hear members of the Catholic Association praising the same revolutionists; and that, too, observe, while those same members expressed their opinion, that it was necessary to make the wrongs of the Irish Catholics known to the *world*. I agreed with them in this opinion. I always insisted on the wisdom of telling the *world* of their ill-treatment. But, who did I mean, and who could they mean, by the *world*? Why, those *foreign powers*, to be sure, whom we must, and for reasons evident enough, have had in our eye. And, when we consider *who* those foreign powers *are*, and how *they* look

upon the revolutions in South America, was it prudent in those Catholics, who sought to tell the tale of their own wrongs to those foreign powers; was it prudent, I say, to *praise* the works of those revolutionists? It is a very good rule, to dislike that which your enemy likes, not to wish for events that he wishes to bring about, to rejoice when he weeps, and to be sorrowful when he rejoices. If the powers of Europe were now to adopt measures (and it is *possible*) to compel our THING to *disown* the South American revolters, and to cause them all to return under the House of Bourbon, *we should have Catholic Emancipation next month.* "And," some one will say, "could you *really* wish to see all those rich countries again adding to the power of that powerful House?" I not only *could*, but *I do wish it*, and most anxiously wish it too, and for precisely the same reasons that I wished the French army to beat down the Cortez, and to get and keep possession of Cadiz. I

wish my own country to be the greatest in the world, I wish the King of England to make other kings and states bow at his nod; but, with this condition, that I am *free myself*; for, if I be to live under the hatches of *Six-Acts*; if I be daily liable to a *Power-of-Imprisonment Bill*; if I be shut up in my house *from sunset to sunrise*, on pain of being transported without trial by jury; if this be my state, what a beast must I be to talk about the *greatness of my country*! As well might the pullet cackle, and the young cock crow in the way of boast of the sumptuous repast of which they are to form a part.

For these reasons, and for many others that might be stated, I would not, if I had been a member of the Catholic Association, have wished success to, and praised, the revolters in South America, who were, I dare say, at that very moment, engaged in schemes for pawning the Church property, even to the very images, to the Jews and Jobbers of Lon-

don. If this serve as a caution to Catholic advocates in future, I shall be very glad: if it do not, I cannot help it. Of one thing they may be well assured, and that is, that as long as affairs go on *smoothly* with the THING, they will, in spite of all the zealous efforts of their most ardent and sincere friend, Mr. PLUNKETT, never get one inch nearer to real *Emancipation* than they now are.

The part of Mr. O'CONNELL'S letter which relates to his own *character and motives*, I give *full credit* to; but, as to his *opinions* on a public question, I shall freely, where the case calls for it, express my dissent. And, first, I am thoroughly convinced, that to pay the Catholic Clergy of Ireland *out of the taxes*, would (as, indeed, the advocates of the measure say) make them *dependents on the government*, and take away a great part of their useful influence. I, as a Protestant, could have no objection to the conversion of their flocks to *our faith*; but I can have, and I have, very great

objection to their being converted into perpetual and *willing* slaves of the THING. However, more on this subject by-and-by, when we come to hear what the Morning Chronicle gives, as *its* reasons for approving the stipendiary plan.

The *elective franchise* is, with me, the most important point; and we have, in this letter of Mr. O'CONNELL, some new and very important matter respecting that "*wing*" of the Bill. From what is said in this letter, it would appear, that *nothing at all* had been, on the 16th of March, *settled* on with regard to either of these two "*wings*." What, the thing even then in *embryo*, when Mr. O'CONNELL, on the 7th of March (date of his first letter), expected to have the Bill completed on the 9th of March, and that it would be read *a first time*, on, or about, the 14th of March! After all this, the "*thing in embryo*, and "*might never attain any regular form*" on the 16th of March! This is surprising. Now, mark,

reader: the Register, addressed to the Electors of Westminster, from which these pretty "*wings*" got their first clip, appeared on the *12th of March*! Pray look at these *dates*. We are all prone to take merit to ourselves; but, I really think, that I do not presume too much, when I say, that it was I who scared the Baronet from his *disfranchising* project; for, if I rightly understand the second letter of Mr. O'CONNELL, *disfranchisement* is abandoned. He has not full knowledge of the nature of qualifications in England, where, in *many*, in very *numerous*, cases, a *life-hold* constitutes a freeholder, and gives a right to vote at elections. This is so well known here, that we, at first sight, are surprised that any man should doubt it. But, the main point is, that he now tells us, that it "*is not intended to take away the right during the present lease*"; that is to say, that all the present freeholders are to continue to vote, *during the lives for which they, or their successors, hold the property giving the vote*; but, that no vote is to belong to those who obtain life-holds, under a certain value, *in future*.

Oh! very well, then: there is to be *no disfranchisement*! Why, then, did you not *say* this before?

In the OLD TIMES newspaper, in that base organ of the Baronet and his Rump, of the *third of March*, it was announced (long before I heard of it through any other channel), that "*the 40s. freeholders, the pauper-constituents of the county-representatives, will be DISFRANCHISED.*" I published a commentary on this in the Register of the *12th of March*; and, from that day to the day when I saw Mr. O'CONNELL's letter, I never heard any one, *any one at all*, say that disfranchisement was not intended; and, surely, seeing so many gentlemen of the Deputation as I did, between the *third* and the *22d of March*, I should have heard of it, if *disfranchisement had not been intended*. Nay, Mr. LAWLESS, who, in his last letter, tells us, that he, in the presence of the rest of the Deputies, *discussed the question* with Sir Francis Burdett, regarded the project as one of *disfranchisement*, when he wrote his first letter, dated on the *13th of March*; for, in that letter he manfully reprobates the intention to "*rob the Irish peasant of his political rights.*" And, how was he to be *robbed*, if nothing was to be *taken from him*? And, if this *had not been intended*, how *came*

I never to hear that it was not intended; and, particularly, how came Mr. *Lawless* never to hear that it was not intended? Then comes Mr. O'CONNELL himself, in his letter of the *7th of March*, and does he say any thing about "not taking away the right *during the present lease*"? No such thing; but, on the contrary, speaks of the intended alteration in a way that must necessarily lead every one to suppose, that it was intended to take away the right immediately. For, if this was not the intention, how was this measure to be a cure of, or a check to, that "*perjury and crime*" which formed the chief reason for his assenting to the measure? The *average life* of man, after arriving at twenty-one years, has been calculated at *twelve years*. So that this "*perjury and crime*" were to be suffered to go on for *twelve years* longer, before any remedy was to be applied! And the "great landholders" were, for that same twelve years, to continue to possess "a frightful predominance over the resident *intellect and honesty* of the counties"!

To employ more time on the matter would be to insult the understanding of the reader. It

must be evident to every man, that it *was intended* to take the right of voting from the *present freeholders* on leases of lives, who form, perhaps, nine-tenths of the county voters in Ireland. I ought not, however (though I had nearly overlooked it), to omit to notice what Mr. SHELL said, in the Catholic Association, on the 16th of March. Speaking of the "measures that were in contemplation in England" (whence he had just returned), "*towards Catholic Emancipation*," he said, "the first was relative to the 40s. freeholders." And, with regard to this he said, "he would say, that, for the attainment of the incalculable benefits of emancipation, he would not say, that *that* concession ought to be made; but he would say, that *some* concession ought not to be refused." But, what *concession* was there in contemplation, relative to the 40s. freeholders, if it was intended not to touch the rights of the *present freeholders*, nor even their *successors in the leases*?

Here is a great deal more than enough to satisfy any man of common sense, that the Baronet's project was (by whomsoever suggested) *immediate* disfranchisement; and, if he be preserved

from the everlasting disgrace of actually presenting a Bill to effect so tyrannical a purpose, he will, I verily believe, owe his preservation to me. The tone of Mr. O'CONNELL'S last letter, convinces me, that the Baronet is scared away from the odious project; but, first or last, it will, I am satisfied, come out; it will be clearly proved, that he either suggested, or adopted, the confiscating scheme. For, observe, it is nothing short of *confiscation*: it is not money, nor is it food; but it is the *worth* of money and of food; and it made a part of what was *purchased*, when the voter paid for his lease. You must go to some Dey of Algiers, or to Harry VIII. and his ruffian vicegerent, THOMAS CROMWELL, to find an example of such cruel and insolent tyranny. I do not take upon me to say that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT did suggest or adopt this proposition: but, confining myself always to what has appeared in the newspapers, scrupulously avoiding to avail myself of any thing that I have heard through any other channel, what conclusion am I to draw from the statement, the uncontradicted statement of Mr. LAWLESS, whose frankness entitles him to full credit, and who tells the public, in

his last letter, that he *discussed* the proposition with Sir FRANCIS BURDETT *for two days*, or on two days. Now, Mr. LAWLESS *reprobates* the proposition. Discussion could not possibly arise, and especially for such a length of time, if there had been no *disagreement* between the parties. One of two things then: there is no sense in the words of Mr. LAWLESS, or, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT was for the proposition; which, I again say, is one of the most barefacedly tyrannical that ever came from the lips or pen of mortal man. As a fellow-subject of the ill-treated Irish people, I reprobate it; and, if stronger reprobation I could possibly express, it would be in *my character of English freeholder*, being quite certain, that an assembly capable of adopting such a proposition, would be ready to strip, and would use this as a precedent for stripping the people of England of every fragment of political right that they have left. Mr. SHEIL calls it a "*concession*." A concession! of what, and by whom? Of the only shield that the poor Irish Catholic has in this world, and by those to whom he has delegated his power to afford him protection.

It is curious to observe what dif-

ferent versions we have of the motives of these advocates for confiscation. Mr. SHEIL calls it a "concession on the part of the Catholics"; Mr. O'CONNELL calls it a something which he "really thinks will add to the Catholic influence in Ireland"; the blundering *Old Times* newspaper, praises it because it will "neutralize the capacity of the priesthood for mischief," and because "it will take them out of the hands of incendiaries"; that is to say, men disposed to watch over the rights and liberties of the people; last, comes the feelosopher of the *Morning Chronicle*, and he applauds the measure because it will tend to "check the increase of population in Ireland." This Scotch philosopher takes the *two wings* under his protection. He likes them both, and only because they would tend to prevent *marriages and breeding*. So that, here are a great variety of motives, all which I expect to see interwoven into the next *Ricardo Lecture* of the renowned philosopher, PETER M'CULLOCH. Mr. O'CONNELL, when he looks at the support which the proposition receives from this advocate, will please to bear in mind, that this same writer has, a hundred times over, expressed his dislike, and pretty nearly his ab-

horrence, of the Catholic Religion itself; that he has represented it as necessarily tending to the slavery and degradation of mankind; that he has always spoken of the Catholic Priesthood as a body of cunning men, living on the deceptions which they practise on the ignorant; and that he, even here, ascribes to them baseness as great as any that can be ascribed to mortal man; namely, that of administering the Sacrament of Marriage, knowing that they are doing a mischief to their country and to the parties married, that of prostituting one of their most sacred functions for the sole purpose of putting money in their pockets. If such be the advocates of the measure, what must that measure be?

Let me not be charged with misrepresenting this writer; and, to avoid this charge, here are his own words.—"We have no hesitation in expressing our approbation of the project for raising the freehold qualification in Ireland. By the 40s. freeholders, the franchise is generally viewed in the light of a burden, and no person acquainted at all with the circumstances of Ireland, can for a moment suppose that the peasantry can give an independent vote. One chief objection to the 40s. freehold is,

" that it gives a bounty on the cut-
 " ting up the land *into small hold-*
 " *ings*, and thus tends to aggra-
 " vate the political disease of that
 " country. We do not mean to
 " say that the raising the qualifi-
 " cation would be instantly at-
 " tended with any effect in increas-
 " ing the size of the possessions;
 " but if circumstances should fa-
 " vour the consolidation of posses-
 " sions, such a desirable result
 " would be less retarded by hav-
 " ing the qualification at 5*l.* than
 " at forty shillings.—With respect
 " to the paying the Irish Catholic
 " Clergy by the State, the mea-
 " sure has our decided approba-
 " tion. We are certain that the
 " public money never was laid
 " out on a more desirable object
 " than the one in question.—Of
 " course, we should prefer paying
 " them out of the excessive reve-
 " nues of the Irish Protestant
 " Church; but we cannot obtain
 " that object at present, and there
 " is no reason why we should de-
 " cline a benefit because it might
 " still be made more extensive.
 " Pay the Catholic Clergy, by all
 " means; nay, pay them well.
 " The part of the plan of which
 " we least approve is the allowing
 " the Clergy to take any fees at
 " all from their flocks. — We
 " would much rather that they

" received at once so much from
 " the State as to leave them no
 " pretext for taking any fees;
 " and, having thus freed them
 " from the necessity of receiving
 " any thing from their flocks,
 " the Legislature might prohibit
 " all fees, oblations, &c. under a
 " severe penalty.—At present the
 " Catholic Priest *has a direct in-*
 " *terest in promoting marriages,*
 " and otherwise adding to the mi-
 " sery of the people. The Scrip-
 " ture says, the heart of man is
 " *deceitful* above all things, and
 " *desperately wicked*, and Ca-
 " tholic Priests being men, have,
 " of course, their share of the
 " failings of humanity. However
 " anxious they may be for the spi-
 " ritual welfare of their flocks, it
 " is natural that they should have
 " an eye occasionally to their own
 " temporal welfare. God forbid
 " that we should say that many
 " Catholic Priests do not act in
 " the most disinterested manner,
 " but in reasoning with regard to
 " whole classes of men, we must
 " consider the motives which are
 " likely to weigh with the majo-
 " rity."

I beseech Mr. O'CONNELL, Mr
 SHEIL, and every other Irish gen-
 tleman who is a Catholic, and
 who has unfortunately listened to
 these propositions, to look well at

the passage which I have here extracted. These are the conditions upon which this writer will grant them Emancipation. He affixes a brand to the haunches of the "Milk-white Hind." He would turn her loose; he would take the clogs from her feet and the halter from her neck; but he puts his Presbyterian burning-iron into her flesh, and sends her forth with a mark of infamy of which she is never to get rid. Thus it is to temporize; thus it befalls all those who have not patience to wait to get their rights in the right way.

But the humiliation is not to stop here; it is not to be left to be inferred from paragraphs in newspapers: it is to come from the Parliament itself, as we are now going to see, from the report of the proceedings in the House of Commons on the 23d of March, when Sir FRANCIS BURDETT brought in a Bill for the purpose of effecting that which has been generally called Catholic Emancipation. Mr. PEEL, before the Bill was read a first time, was anxious to know whether it was drawn up in conformity with the Catholic Petition. The answer which he received to this was, that the Bill had been drawn up in conformity to the resolution of the

House of Commons, and that its object was to remove the disqualifications of the King's Roman Catholic subjects. Upon this occurred that which will, I hope, make Irish Catholics reflect very seriously before they again venture on the offering of compromises. Sir THOMAS LETHBRIDGE, who objected even to the first reading of the Bill, said that he had heard of the establishment of a pecuniary provision for the Roman Catholic Clergy. He then proceeded thus: "Public rumour had stated, that there was another provision to be mixed up with it, which affected the *elective franchise*. [No, no, from Sir FRANCIS BURDETT and many members near him.] Well, he was glad to hear that no such provisions were introduced into the Bill." After this, Mr. PEEL said, that on the second reading of the Bill, he should take the sense of the House upon it. But I must now take the words of the report as I find it in the *Morning Chronicle*. "But," said Mr. PEEL, "if the principle of the Bill were carried, he trusted that even Honourable Members who supported that principle would attend to the Committee, and attentively discuss its details. These details would be of

" the greatest importance, particu-
 " larly when it was notified to the
 " country, that the Bill ordered
 " by that House to be introduced,
 " and which was to grant security
 " to the Protestants, *was drawn*
 " *by Mr. O'Connell*, the Leader
 " of that very Catholic Associa-
 " tion which Parliament had that
 " very Session found it necessary
 " to put down. (Hear, hear!)
 " The House would feel the ne-
 " cessity, under such circum-
 " stances, of minutely attending
 " to the details of the Bill.—Mr.
 " TIERNEY admitted that the con-
 " duct of the Right Honourable
 " Secretary (Mr. Peel) was both
 " consistent and candid. As one
 " of the Committee selected by
 " that House to introduce the pre-
 " sent Bill, he felt himself called
 " upon to say, that the *drawing*
 " *it up was not delegated to any*
 " *individual whomsoever*. For his
 " own part, he most unequivocally
 " assured the House, that with
 " those Gentlemen belonging to
 " the Roman Catholic Body who
 " came to England, *he never had*
 " *one single minute's conversation*,
 " either on the religious or the
 " political part of the question:
 " he had carefully avoided it.
 " Having assisted in drawing up
 " the present Bill, he also de-
 " clared, that he did not know or

" believe, that any other Gentle-
 " man belonging to those who
 " were employed by that House
 " to prepare the Bill, *gave any*
 " *such authority*. At the same
 " time he believed that Mr. O'Con-
 " nell was incapable of stating an
 " untruth (hear, hear!), and the
 " circumstance might be thus ex-
 " plained. Some Gentlemen had
 " probably a conversation on the
 " subject with Mr. O'Connell;
 " and having heard his views, ex-
 " pressed a wish to have them
 " stated in writing; but that any
 " *real or formal instruction had*
 " *been given*, or that any delega-
 " tion had been made by those
 " entrusted by that House with
 " the introduction of the Bill, he
 " *most positively denied*. (Hear,
 " hear!)—Mr. Secretary PEEL
 " observed, that he had no other
 " authority for his statement but
 " the publication of a letter in the
 " public prints, signed *Daniel*
 " *O'Connell*, and which *had not*
 " *since been denied*.—Lord Ho-
 " THAM (as we understood) stated,
 " that he should not support the
 " second reading of the Bill, un-
 " less it provided an *allowance*
 " *for the Roman Catholic Clergy*,
 " and *altered the elective qualifi-*
 " *cation* in respect to the forty
 " shilling freeholders.—Mr. TIER-
 " NEY begged to remind the Noble

" Lord, that the present Bill was introduced pursuant to the Resolution of the House. On the points to which the Noble Lord adverted, *no instruction had been given to them.* In not coupling them with the present Bill, there was no dereliction on their part. Indeed, had they so blended them, they would have acted inconsistent with their duty. It was, however, *open to any Honourable Member to introduce propositions directed to those objects.*"

There! Mr. O'CONNELL may now see the effect of his confiding and eulogizing disposition. Here is a flat contradiction of his statement, that it had been permitted to him "*to draw the rough draft of this Bill, in which,*" says he, " I am engaged, and hope to have it ready on Wednesday next"! Was there no friend to warn Mr. O'CONNELL of his danger, when he came to London? Was there no one to say to him, "*place no confidence,*" and a great deal more of the like? Far other will his employment now be than that of defending himself against the friendly, the hasty and seemingly hostile, remonstrances of Mr. LAWLESS.

Cannot Mr. O'CONNELL see, from what passed here, the turn that things will take. He may look at these proceedings till his

eyes start from their sockets, before he will find any thing in his defence from that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT to whom he tells his unhappy countrymen that they *can never be too grateful.* With equal success will he look, will he pore over the paper to find one single word in his behalf from that "*sincere*" and hearty Mr. PLUNKETT, whom he calls his Right Honourable friend, and whom, and whose efforts in behalf of Ireland, he eulogizes to the skies.

But, to come back to the disfranchising project, we see how eager that very Sir FRANCIS BURDETT was to disclaim it, though he had two days discussed it with Mr. LAWLESS. What, again I ask, was it that he *discussed*? It is manifest that he must have been for the disfranchisement! and thus this "*consistent politician,*" this *Champion of Reform,* is brought up at last; is brought, at the end of twenty years of bawling for an extension of the suffrage, to make a hasty retreat from a project for diminishing the number of voters, and brought to this point, too, by the very man whom his reforming friends, and none more loudly than myself, censured for half a score years for having been the mover of his committal to the Tower, in

consequence of a publication of which he was the author, and in which he called the House of Commons a "*whited wall*," chiefly because it rejected his propositions for an extension of the suffrage!

Nobody disapproves more decidedly than I do of the opposition of Sir THOMAS LETHBRIDGE to granting the claims of the Catholics; but, I commend him, I applaud him, for having thus given the first blow to the tyrannical project of disfranchisement; and, in this I am sure that I have with me nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand of the people of England. I do not believe, that, whether this project had been broached or not, Catholic Emancipation would have been obtained this year. I have always thought that it would not. But, now the chances against it are become beyond all measure greater than they were before the disfranchising project was talked of. In vain will the Bill come without the intended provisions. The people will never lose sight of those provisions. They will think of *the wings*, though you bring the bird without a feather upon his body. It will be impossible to separate the things in the public mind; and that public, which would have

seen the Bill pass with real satisfaction, will now hail its rejection with joy.

We see that Sir THOMAS LETHBRIDGE expresses his deep regret, at "*the apathy that was manifested out of doors on the subject; he sincerely regretted it*"; but he was persuaded that "*it was not in union with the true feeling of the country.*" Why, Sir THOMAS, as Sir FRANCIS BURDETT has most justly observed, "*to have is to have*"; so, Sir THOMAS, *to feel is to feel*; and, Sir THOMAS, if the people *out of doors* do manifest an apathy, an apathy they feel; and, Sir THOMAS, then that is "*the true feeling of the country*": for, what the devil is the country, if it be not "*out of doors.*" You carry a great deal of power into the House, to be sure; but you have not got the country there. Seriously, this is a most important confession on the part of the enemies of Catholic Emancipation; and (Great God!) what a load it must add to the mortification of every Catholic who has assented to these odious propositions! Here is a decided; a very sincere, a very honest, a very hearty, but a very frank foe of Catholic Emancipation. Here is he regretting the apathy out of doors upon the subject;

that is to say, regretting that the Protestants of England at large; that sensible and just Englishmen, are at last arrived at that point when no power on earth can frighten or delude them into a cry of "*No Popery*." Thus are my words verified; thus are my assurances to the Catholic Deputies proved to be well founded; thus have I not laboured in vain; but, alas! of what use are any efforts if they are to be counteracted by causes which it would grieve me to describe? At the beginning of the Session, what was the language of Mr. CANNING and Mr. ROBINSON? "The people of England *were not ripe* for the measure." They, good gentlemen, were *sorry* for the people's prejudices, (aye, that they were!) but the people had still their prejudices; they were not ripe for Catholic Emancipation. Now, however, comes Sir THOMAS LETHBRIDGE; he comes too from the country; he knows well what the feeling of the people is, and he honestly and manfully says, that he laments the apathy that is manifested out of doors; that is to say, the readiness of the people to see Emancipation enacted by law, without raising one single voice against it.

But, the same apathy will not

be found if you couple Emancipation with a new and unreasonable charge made upon them to maintain the clergy of another Church in addition to the clergy of their own; the same apathy will not be found, if they see another "*wing*" which is to set the example of taking from themselves the right of voting at elections; put these wings to the bill; and Sir THOMAS LETHBRIDGE will not have to complain of apathy. The wings are put in the minds of the people. Their common sense, which rejects all quibbling and special pleading, will still see the wings, disguise them how you may; and, again and again I say that these projects, so cruelly injurious and insulting to the Catholics themselves, proposed by the foes of the Catholics, manifestly tending to the subversion of their religion and to their political degradation for ever, will cause to be hailed with delight, that rejection of Emancipation, which rejection would, otherwise, have created such an expression of discontent amongst them as would have made the authors of such rejection seriously reflect before they attempted its repetition.

Here is the great mischief. The cause has been flung back by this attempt at a compromise. That

which Mr. SHEIL calls a "*concession*" will be the very thing that may possibly for years yet to come defeat the object of that "*concession*." This has all along been my opinion. From the moment I heard of the compromise, I expressed this opinion. I did every thing in my power to prevent the fatal measure, and to stop it in its progress; and, therefore, come what may, I stand acquitted of all blame. I should not be at all surprised to see this very Bill, though shorn of its wings, thrown out even of the House of Commons; and, I am very sure, that, to get it to pass there, there must be a distinct pledge that the wings are to be totally rejected. Then, is any man mad enough to suppose, that the plucked body will pass the House of Lords? I really regard it as little short of downright infatuation to entertain such an opinion for a moment. But, in conclusion, what is to become of these fantastical wings? Who will move them? Who will second them? Who will vote for them?

I here take my leave of the subject, hardly thinking that it will be necessary to say any thing more about it. The mischief is done, and there is no remedy but patience. WM. COBBETT.

KEEPING COWS

*By Gentlemen who have NO LAND
to turn out on.*

I HAVE, in my Cottage Economy, shown how a labouring man may, to his great advantage, keep a cow; but there are thousands of gentlemen, in the outskirts of London, and even in the WEN itself, who want a lesson upon this subject. *Milk* is an article very nearly indispensable; and it is one of those things which must be had *every day in the year*. People *may* keep house without it; but what sort of house-keeping would it be! Yet, what a plague is there in getting *good milk*, to say nothing of *cream*, without which latter, mind, a gentleman's house, or any thing approaching a gentleman's house, cannot get decently along. We cannot live near London without knowing what is said about the *tricks* of milkmen. The temptation is too strong to be resisted by a man or woman who carries milk about. The WEN is so well supplied with *water*, that it would be to be a fool to suppose, that this element will not be invoked in aid of the cow. Not by the *cow-keepers*,

for it is their interest to have their milk as good as they can get it : but by the retailers, who are here to-day and gone to-morrow. In short, it is notorious, that the complaints on this score are universal and are well founded. Then, though the milk is high in price, the cow-keeper cannot afford to make it really good. He must have cows which produce *quantity* ; his food must have *quantity* in view ; and then there comes the profit of the *retailer* ; to say nothing about the too frequent costly collusions between this latter and "Mrs. Cook," by which two strokes on the tally are produced instead of one ; and Mrs. Cook's "*headekeashon*," though got at a Sunday-school, enables her to ascertain, that, by the double score on the tally, she may add (at $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day) *3l. 16s.* a year to her wages, a part of which she may spare to defray the expense of "*Missions to the Heathen*."

But how to get rid of all this, or of any part of it ? *By keeping a cow.* But, answer thousands of persons, I have *no land*. Why, if you have no garden, no yard, no stable, no out-house, *ten feet square*, then, indeed, you cannot keep a cow ; and you must go without *cream* and *custards*, and all the other nice things that a

cow gives us ; or your milk and cream bill must amount (to keep a good house) to more than *fifty pounds a year* !

Now hear *my story*. I would not live any where without *plenty of milk*. I would put up with any inconvenience rather than not *keep a cow*. I keep one ; and here is my statement of the effects of doing this. When I had the convenience, I kept four or five at this place. I now keep *one*. She is a little *Alderney cow*, about seven or eight years old. I have no means of weighing her *alive* ; but I guess her dead weight at *fifty-two* or *three* pounds a quarter, which is about half the average weight of fat hogs, and about twice the weight of a fat Leicester sheep. Any strong man would carry her alive, if she could be put up so as to lie quietly on his back. She calved about the middle of January. She now gives, on an average, *fourteen quarts of milk a day* ; and her average yield, *throughout the year*, is about *ten quarts a day*. To some neighbours, who send *regularly*, and give us no *trouble*, we sell *four quarts* every day ; and the rest we use ourselves. Puddings, pies, custards, bread, tea, coffee, chocolate, all proclaim the praises of this little animal ; and, after all,

though we never spare *cream*, we make *some butter*; at this time about *two pounds a week*.

Now, what is the value of *ten quarts of milk*? It is ten times four-pence halfpenny, or *3s. 9d.* a day; that is *1l. 6s. 3d.* a week; and that is *68l. 6s. 3d.* a year. Aye, but what is the *cost*? Why, upon the face of it, it cannot cost *a third* of this money. But, "you have *land*," the reader will say. That is true; but, *not one inch to put this cow out upon*. I had a bit of grass land; but that is turned into a nursery. So that my cow has never been out of her stall since the *first day of March last*, except *once* for about *an hour*. She stands tied up, in a stall in the stable, and is only taken out now and then, as the horses are, to be tied up at the door, while the stable is, of a fine day, aired and dried. Her food is about 8 lbs. of hay a day, and half a Winchester bushel of coarse pollard; or half a Winchester bushel of *grains*, mixed with three gallons of pollard. The cost of the hay is seven-pence halfpenny, and the cost of the pollard, (supposing her always to have pollard without grains), is sixpence, her litter is the cleanest that comes from the horse stalls; but, suppose her to have a truss of straw

in a week, which, with proper management is quite enough, that is *8d.* a week. So that the whole weekly cost, is *8s. 6d.* So that the profit, at ten quarts of milk a day, is *17s. 9½d.* a week; and the four quarts a day, which we now sell, pay for the food and litter of the cow, give us *2s.* in money, and leave us (at this time) *seventy quarts of milk a week for our own use*. Mine is a family of fourteen grown persons in all; but still, seventy quarts of milk a week is a great deal; and, in spite of every thing, there is *skim milk*, and there must be *butter milk*. These go to a sow and her pigs. She has two farrows in a year of about eight each. Four of each farrow become *roasters*, the other four *porkers*; so that here are about 400 pounds of pig-meat brought into the house in a year, and it is done at a very moderate expense in consequence of the *cow*; for the pigs, when taken from the sow, have all the skim milk mixed with fine pollard or barleymeal; so that they *never cease to be fit to kill*; and they are killed, during the *four months* that the sow is preparing another farrow; and, during those four months, the sow lives on the pot-liquor of the house with some pollard in it; and is, thus, *kept well* at a very trifling

expense. You cannot have it both ways; but, if *poultry*, and not pigs, be your taste, there is nothing equal to *curds* for poultry, young or old, as I have stated in COTTAGE ECONOMY, paragraph 172. See also paragraph 180, for *fatting fowls*.

The *care* of the cow is of little cost; but, mind, the keeping of a cow always supposes that a *man* or a *stout boy*, is kept; for, as I am speaking of gentlemen living near the WEN, to get one of the "*ladies*," who have had "*headeasons*" and who want "*sitheatshons*" and not "*services*"; to get one of these to *milk* (though she may have done it in the country) is next to impossible. Much less will she *feed pigs*. But, look at the *account* of milk and pigmeat, or, indeed, of milk alone; and you will find, that the man, or boy, *even if he did nothing else*, would pay you amply for his wages and board; but, cow and pigs would not take him more than *three hours a day*; and you *must have him* to clean *knives* and *shoes*, and to do many other things, even if you do not keep a *horse*. But, in hiring the man, or boy, take care to ascertain, that he *knows how to milk*, for a cow is *very soon spoiled* if not milked *quite dry every time*; and besides

this, mind, the last *half pint* is *twelve times as valuable as the first half pint*. See COTTAGE ECONOMY, paragraph 114.

I am writing chiefly for the information of *tradesmen*, who, after 20, 30, or 40 years of industry, such as is seen in no other country in the world, get out of the smoke of the WEN, settle on its skirts, and are there "paying through the nose" for a scanty supply of that which they might have in abundance, and at an easy rate. Let me now speak of the *sort of cow*. No cow, that I know of, but an ALDERNEY, is fit for the purpose. She eats not half so much as a large cow; her milk is beyond all comparison richer than that of any other sort of cow; other cows will not bear confinement so well; and the ALDERNEY is gentle as a dog. The ALDERNEY will give milk to *within a week of calving time*. I had one at Botley, that gave five quarts of milk in the evening, and that calved in the ensuing night, and had a perfect calf, that was so fine as to be kept for a bull. Other cows are not milked for six weeks, or *two months*, previous to their calving; and this is a great inconvenience. When SIDMOUTH'S and CASTLE-REAGH'S Power-of-Imprisonment Bill sent me to Long Island, in

1817, I left a dairy of the most beautiful ALDERNEY cows that man ever set his eyes on. One of these cows multiplied herself into *seven cows* in the space of *two years*. She had *twin cow-calves*. Before that day two years she had two more cow-calves; and the twins had each a cow-calf before they were two years old. Other cows do not, in general, have calves till they are *three or four years old*.

As to the means of *getting the cow*, I cannot speak quite so positively as I could have spoken a year or two ago. Mr. WILLIAM ROGERS, of Southampton, used to be a great importer of ALDERNEYS, and used to send them to all parts of the kingdom; and his character for probity and fair dealing (which he derived from his father) was such, that it was just as safe to trust to his word as it would have been to trust to his bond. But I see, by an advertisement in the Southampton newspaper, that he has quitted the business, and transferred it to his brother-in-law, Mr. JAMES ROBERTS, of ABBOTSTON, near ALRESFORD, Hampshire. Of Mr. ROBERTS I do not personally know much; but I have heard that he is a very punctual and honourable man, and this I presume to be the

case, from the circumstance of his succeeding Mr. ROGERS, whose recommendation will be quite sufficient with every one that knows him. Mr. ROGERS has sent hundreds upon hundreds of cows to gentlemen who never saw him: a letter to him was enough: he was sure to deceive nobody: and his men were of that trusty character, that disappointment scarcely ever attended any one that wrote to him for cows. About the *present prices* I know nothing. Mr. ROBERTS does, I suppose, as Mr. ROGERS did, send the cows by *his own men* to those who order them. I paid, for one sent to me at Kensington, *5s.* a day for the man, and *1s. 6d.* a day for the cow. The whole expense of bringing her to Kensington from Southampton was about *two pounds*. Mr. ROBERTS is twenty miles nearer London than Mr. ROGERS was, so that the expense may now be a little less. However, the great thing is, the *character of the man you deal with*; for, if the cow has had a calf, she may have some defect, or may not be in calf again. If a heifer, she may not be in calf. In short, there may arise great disappointment and injury, unless the dealer can be *relied on*. I should prefer a *heifer in calf*, that would calve

in a few months. Then you have her from the beginning, and she may last you *twenty years*. However, if Mr. ROBERTS were written to, he would say *what he had*, and what he thought was best to suit the purpose of the person applying.

Though I keep my cow at stall, that need not be done where there is land; in which case, be the bit of grass ever so small, the cow might be *tethered* out to eat the grass, and moved over the ground till all were eaten. See YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA, paragraph 132, for an account of my *tethering* of ALDERNEY cows. I have said that hay and pollard and grains are sufficient, and so they are; but, if you have a *garden*, there will be *cabbages* sometimes; and you may have *mangel wurzel* near London at a cheap rate. A great weight of it will grow on *ten rods of ground*. It is *very good* as a bait for the cow *now and then*: once in two days: but not as a constant food. It *refreshes*, and produces an abundance of milk; but it must be given *with hay*, or *dry food* of some sort.

I should observe, that though these cows are called *Alderneys*, they generally come from JERSEY, or GUERNSEY. I cannot send my

cow to be seen at the shop in Fleet-street; but any gentleman, who may think it worth his while, may see her here.

GARDEN SEEDS AND FIELD SEEDS.

I HAVE received from *America* some very fine kidney beans. I expect some of the running kind. Those that I have at present are dwarfs. There are two sorts. The *Golden Dwarf*, and the *Blue and White Dwarf*. They are the finest and plumpest beans that I ever saw. They may be had at Fleet-street, four-pence a half-pint, seven-pence a pint, a shilling a quart, three and sixpence a gallon, and twenty shillings a bushel.

SEEDS.

Swedish Turnip Seed and *Mangel Wurzel Seed*. I have some of the very best of both. The former is 1s. 3d. a pound, if ten pounds are taken; and 1s. 6d. if a less quantity. The latter, 2s. 3d. a pound, if *ten* pounds: and 2s. 6d. if less. I *warrant* them both, having grown them myself

from picked and transplanted roots. Please to apply at No. 183, Fleet-street.

The *Swedish Turnip Seed* is of precisely the same sort as that, from which the *great crop*, mentioned in the Register some time ago, was grown in *Scotland*. And the *MANGEL WURZEL* seed is from plants, some plants of which weighed not less than *thirty pounds* each, and the seed-stalks of which were more than *ten feet high*. The plants were all selected, and none planted for seed but those of the *deepest red*, which colour is a sure indication of the goodness of the sort. Those plants, the flesh of which is *white*, have degenerated.

N. B. Any gentleman, in *Ireland*, who may wish to be supplied with these seeds, will please to apply to Mr. SCULLY, Bookseller, Upper Orman Quay, Dublin, to whom I shall send some very shortly. The *Mangel Wurzel* should not be sown before *early in June*. If sown earlier, it is apt to go to seed the first year.

SPRING WHEAT. I have about 30 bushels, which I sell at 14s. a bushel, which is, as nearly as I can ascertain, what it cost me.

This is the wheat for *bonnet-straw*. It may be sown *till May*. See *Cottage Economy*, last edition, paragraphs 224 to 227.

I have sold all the Ash Trees that I had for sale. Any gentleman, to whom I have sent trees, and who has not received the number or the sort that he wanted, will be so good as to ascribe the deficiency to my not having had the trees to send. If any gentleman have *paid* for trees which he has not received, he will, by applying at No. 183, Fleet-street, have the money refunded.

AMERICAN ALMANACK

FOR 1824.

THOSE who have a mind to see how the "*fir frigates* with bits of striped bunting at their mast-heads" get on; those who have a mind to see what ships of the line, frigates, and so forth, Jonathan has prepared, and is preparing, for us; those who have a mind to see an account of the Navy, Army

Treasury, Imports, Exports, Navigation, Debt, Taxes, Revenue, Expenditure, and all other such like matters appertaining to Jonathan, may have full information respecting them in a book under the above title, of which I have twenty-five copies to sell at the price of six shillings each copy; very neatly half-bound, and well printed upon good paper. I see that the exports from the United States, imported during the last year, amounted to 74,699,030 Spanish dollars, and that the imports amounted to 77,579,267 Spanish dollars; I also see that the American tonnage, entering into, and departing from, the United States, during the year, amounted to 1,086,032 tons. This is the amount of Jonathan's own tonnage. The foreign tonnage, during the same period, was 239,208 tons. There is at the end of the book what is called a General Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States. In short, this little book is a very useful one for any person

who wishes to be acquainted with the wealth and various resources of the United States. I beg leave to recommend it to the attention and perusal of "my Lords" of the Admiralty, and particularly to that profound Statesman and Legislator, and most renowned Naval Commander, Sir JOSEPH YORKE, Knight of the Order of the Bath. His worship will here see why it unfortunately happened that Mr. PRESIDENT MADISON remained *undeposed*, in spite of the speech attributed to his worship, and in spite of the exhortations and imprecations of that sensible vehicle, the *Old Times* newspaper.

GARDENING BOOK.

MY BOOK ON GARDENING is called the "*American Gardener*," and it was written for use in the *United States*. Two large editions have been sold *here*. But, it is now out of print, and I shall, in its stead, publish, in a few

weeks, "*The English Gardener*." The other work was not adapted to *our seasons*; and, besides, it said nothing of *wall-trees*, which is a great subject with us, and of the *pruning* of which it is necessary to say *a great deal*; for, on it depends almost the whole of the success in getting fruit, and in getting it fine. On the subject of *grafting* and *budding*, and particularly on the subject of planting *orchards*, I have a great deal to say, that I think will be very useful.

CATHOLIC APPEAL.

IN consequence of the base conduct of the London daily press, I have published this *Appeal*, price a halfpenny, or three shillings a hundred. Any Gentleman in the country, who wishes to distribute it in his neighbourhood, may be instantly supplied by writing to No. 183, Fleet Street.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending March 12.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	67	1	Oats	23	6
Rye	41	7	Beans ...	38	0
Barley ..	40	6	Peas	40	9

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, March 12.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat	8,179 for 29,313	3	5	Average, 71	8		
Barley	6,536....13,835	4	342	4		
Oats..	14,851....19,861	1	326	8		
Rye.....	44.....	85	14	0.....	39	11	
Beans..	1,469....	2,767	12	7.....	37	8	
Pease..	1,027....	2,124	9	2.....	41	4	

Friday, March 18.—There have been large arrivals of most kinds of Grain this week, and a good quantity of Flour. Prime samples of Wheat sell freely at Monday's prices, but in other qualities there has been scarcely any trade. Barley for malting is neglected, but grinding and feeding parcels are more in demand at last quotations. Oats were a heavy sale on Wednesday, and full 1s. per qr. cheaper, but there has been more life in the trade to-day, at that decline.

Monday, March 21.—The arrivals of all sorts of Grain last week were tolerably large. This morning the fresh supplies of Wheat, Beans, and

Peas, from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, are only moderate. There are also very few vessels fresh up from the North with Wheat and Oats. The Millers appear to want only superfine samples of Wheat, and such have obtained rather more money than this day se'night, but in other qualities there has not been much doing.

Barley for malting sells very heavily, and is rather cheaper, but grinding and feeding parcels are more in demand, at rather higher prices. Beans that are dry meet sale at last quotations, but soft parcels are rather lower. Boiling Peas meet very few buyers at present, and are offered on lower terms. Grey Peas sell slowly, at last quotations. Oats on Wednesday last were very dull, and 1s. per quarter lower; but to-day they have recovered this depression, and sell more freely.

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack60s. — 65s.
— Second56s. — 60s.
— North Country	..52s. — 55s.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from March 14 to March 19, both inclusive.

Qrs.	Qrs.
Wheat .. 11,677	Tares 1,535
Barley .. 11,962	Linseed .. 1,915
Malt 7,607	Rapeseed . 1,917
Oats 21,118	Brank .. 177
Beans ... 2,215	Mustard .. 106
Flour 9,520	Flax —
Rye —	Hemp —
Peas 1,073	Seeds ... 326

Foreign. — Wheat, 720; Barley, 1885; Oats, 3240; Flour, 416.

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the Week ended March 12.

Qrs.	Qrs.
Wheat .. 42,568	Oats 34,167
Rye 610	Beans ... 7,720
Barley .. 41,871	Peas 4,416

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at 11d. by the full-priced Bakers.

HOPS.

Price of Hops per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, March 21.—No alteration in price since our last.

Maidstone, March 17.—The Hop trade this week has been rather at a stand, and there is but little doing.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, March 21.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	6	to	5 0
Mutton	5	2	—	5 10
Veal	6	0	—	7 0
Pork	5	4	—	6 4
Beasts	3,067		Sheep	.. 16,680
Calves	112		Pigs	... 100

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	8	to	4 8
Mutton	3	3	—	5 0
Veal	4	0	—	6 8
Pork	4	8	—	6 8

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	to	4 6
Mutton	4	0	—	5 2
Veal	4	8	—	6 4
Pork	4	8	—	6 8

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS.—per Ton.

Ware	£ 3	0	to	£ 5	10
Middlings.....	2	10	—	3	0
Chats.....	2	10	—	0	0
Common Red..	0	0	—	0	0

BOROUGH.—per Ton.

Ware.....	£ 3	10	to	£ 5	5
Middlings.....	2	10	—	3	0
Chats	2	0	—	0	0
Common Red..	3	5	—	4	10

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield. — Hay....	60s.	to	90s.
Straw....	40s.	to	48s.
Clover..	80s.	to	110s.
St. James's. — Hay....	60s.	to	105s.
Straw....	39s.	to	52s.
Clover..	80s.	to	105s.
Whitechapel. — Hay....	80s.	to	100s.
Straw....	44s.	to	52s.
Clover..	95s.	to	120s.

COAL MARKET, March 18.

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.

56½ Newcastle..	27½	28s. 0d.	to	38s. 0d.
20 Sunderland..	8½	30s. 0d.	—	41s. 0d.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.		Pease.	
	s.	to s. d.	s.	to s. d.	s.	to s. d.	s.	to s. d.	s.	to s. d.
Aylesbury	74	80 0	44	45 0	24	27 0	34	48 0	44	47 0
Banbury	70	80 0	44	48 6	25	32 0	40	52 0	0	0 0
Basingstoke	60	74 0	31	47 0	22	29 0	38	50 6	0	0 0
Bridport	60	68 0	30	40 0	21	23 0	44	0 0	0	0 0
Chelmsford.....	64	81 0	0	0 0	25	32 0	30	36 0	35	50 0
Derby	70	76 0	45	51 0	25	32 0	44	60 0	0	0 0
Devizes	58	78 0	31	51 0	22	34 0	42	54 0	0	0 0
Dorchester.....	55	68 0	37	43 0	24	29 0	48	56 0	0	0 0
Exeter	64	75 0	36	40 0	22	24 0	44	48 0	0	0 0
Eye	68	76 0	32	44 0	22	28 0	32	36 0	32	36 0
Guildford	56	86 0	35	47 6	24	32 6	40	47 0	41	46 0
Henley	67	83 0	28	52 0	22	30 0	33	50 0	42	49 0
Horncastle.....	60	68 0	36	42 0	18	25 0	38	46 0	0	0 0
Hungerford.....	60	76 0	30	43 0	23	34 0	40	58 0	0	0 0
Lewes	68	76 0	42	44 0	23	28 0	40	0 0	0	0 0
Newbury	52	79 0	27	49 0	18	30 0	28	51 0	36	45 0
Newcastle	56	70 0	32	44 0	19	27 0	38	43 0	38	54 0
Northampton....	70	78 0	43	48 6	23	28 0	37	51 0	0	0 0
Nottingham	67	0 0	47	0 0	27	0 0	50	0 0	0	0 0
Reading	64	85 0	30	49 0	17	31 0	36	44 0	40	48 0
Stamford.....	60	75 0	38	48 0	22	31 0	38	56 0	0	0 0
Stowmarket	68	76 0	30	44 0	22	28 0	32	36 0	32	36 0
Swansea	64	0 0	33	0 0	21	0 0	0	0 0	0	0 0
Truro	68	0 0	37	0 0	28	0 0	0	0 0	0	0 0
Uxbridge	66	88 0	33	49 0	25	32 0	36	44 0	42	46 0
Warminster.....	52	76 0	28	54 0	24	34 0	38	56 0	0	0 0
Winchester.....	68	76 0	33	45 0	26	32 0	0	0 0	0	0 0
Dalkeith*	32	38 0	30	34 6	17	23 0	17	21 0	17	21 0
Haddington*....	29	39 0	26	36 0	17	25 0	16	20 0	15	19 0

* Dalkeith and Haddington are given by the *boll*.—The Scotch *boll* for Wheat, Rye, Pease, and Beans, is three per cent. more than 4 bushels. The *boll* of Barley and Oats, is about 6 bushels Winchester, or as 6 to 8 compared with the English *quarter*.

Liverpool, March 15.—Throughout the past week, Sales of each description of Grain were found difficult both in this and the country markets of the district, although Wheat, Malt, and Barley, might have been purchased at a reduction of 3*d.* per bushel; Oats at 1*d.* to 1½*d.*; and Flour and Oatmeal 1*s.* per 240 lbs. And at this day's market, sales were very limited, at the decline noted (and confirmed) by the change in the quotations from those of this day se'nnight.

Imported into *Liverpool*, from the 8th to the 14th of March, 1825, inclusive:—Wheat, 6,239; Barley, 861; Oats, 23,043; Malt, 10; Beans, 581; and Peas, 4 quarters. Flour, 4,163 sacks, per 280 lbs. Oatmeal, 1,787 packs, per 240 lbs.

Norwich, March 19.—The Wheat continues to support its price, but the Barley trade is slack.

Bristol, March 19.—The sales of Corn at the markets here, generally speaking, are rather heavy.

Birmingham, March 17.—The Barley trade is extremely heavy to-day, yet fine samples, being scarce, do not give way in price; inferior qualities abound, and are nearly unsaleable. Wheat and other articles are stationary. Supplies only moderate.

Ipswich, March 19.—We had to-day a short supply of all Grain, and prices remain very much as last week, as follow:—Wheat, 63*s.* to 76*s.*; Barley, 32*s.* to 45*s.*; Beans, 35*s.* to 37*s.*; and Oats, 22*s.* to 28*s.* per qr.

Boston, March 16.—The supply of Wheat has fallen off again this week, and in consequence more money is made by 2*s.* per quarter for superfine samples, and all descriptions are in request. Oats are plentiful; still they cannot be bought lower, unless they are very inferior or heated: speculators continue to take off the better descriptions, to hold. Beans are in less supply, and dearer. Barley very dull sale, and 1*s.* per quarter cheaper.

Wakefield, March 18.—There is a liberal supply of most articles of Grain for this day's market. The Millers, in consequence of the Flour trade remaining in so depressed a state, were not disposed to purchase Wheat to any extent: the sales made were principally confined to the finest descriptions, which fetched as high prices as last week, but other sorts were nearly neglected, though offered on rather lower terms. The stained qualities of Barley are unsaleable, and the best must be noted 1*s.* per quarter below the rates of this day se'nnight.

Hull, March 18.—The market was moderately supplied with Wheat to-day; still there was no briskness in the trade: the best qualities sold about the terms of Tuesday last, but all other descriptions were a shade lower; although the supplies of Oats and Barley were scanty, both articles ruled dull. The very limited demand of late for Beans, caused the market to be overloaded, but the supply having materially fallen off, the holders have become more sanguine, and generally demanded 40*s.* per quarter. Peas of both sorts are in more request for seed. No Rapeseed at market.

Lynn, March 17.—We had a very small supply of Wheat at market on Tuesday, but as the demand was limited, our last week's prices were barely maintained. Barley dull sale, and 1*s.* per quarter lower.

Yarmouth, March 17.—We had a good supply of Grain on Saturday at our market: both Wheat and Barley were a dull sale, and cheaper; the former 1*s.* and the latter 2*s.* to 3*s.* on the second and inferior. Peas, Beans, and Oats were each a dull sale, and rather cheaper. Yesterday morning the trade was much the same as on Saturday.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Norwich Castle Meadow, March 19.—There was a great supply of Stock of all kinds at market to-day, and the demand appeared to be great, a considerable part of the Stock being disposed of at an early part of the day.—Fat Beef and Mutton fetched 8s. to 8s. 9d., and Pigs (which are more plentiful) 7s. 3d. to 8s. per stone of 14lbs.

Horncastle, March 19.—Beef, 8s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 8d.; Pork, 6d. to 7½d.; and Veal, 9d. to 10d. per lb.

Manchester, March 16.—On sale 2067 Sheep, at 6½d. to 9d. per lb. sinking the offal; 503 Cattle, at 5d. to 7½d.; 50 Pigs.—Total 2620.

At *Darlington Market*, on Monday last, being fortnight fair, there was a pretty good supply of Cattle, and sales brisk. Beef, 7s. to 8s. Mutton, 7s. to 8s. per stone, sinking offal.

At *Morpeth Market*, on Wednesday, there was a good supply of Cattle and Sheep; there being a great demand, fat sold readily, but inferior of the former could not be sold.—Beef, from 6s. to 6s. 9d.; Mutton, 6s. 9d. to 7s. 9d. per stone, sinking offal.

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of England and Wales, for the Week ended March 12, 1825.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London*	70	2	43	2	25	5
Essex	71	3	40	5	26	11
Kent	70	10	44	6	27	0
Sussex	70	0	40	9	24	9
Suffolk	69	9	39	1	25	5
Cambridgeshire	66	0	38	6	20	0
Norfolk	66	3	38	1	24	8
Lincolnshire	66	9	43	0	22	8
Yorkshire	63	5	41	0	22	6
Durham	63	5	42	3	25	7
Northumberland	59	8	38	11	24	3
Cumberland	63	9	37	0	23	4
Westmoreland	66	3	36	0	24	4
Lancashire	68	2	0	0	25	9
Cheshire	66	5	51	7	25	3
Gloucestershire	68	7	44	8	27	5
Somersetshire	68	1	42	1	22	7
Monmouthshire	63	8	42	10	23	7
Devonshire	66	1	38	6	24	5
Cornwall	64	10	37	5	25	10
Dorsetshire	66	6	37	11	24	9
Hampshire	67	3	40	1	22	4
North Wales	64	6	40	10	21	0
South Wales ...	61	6	35	3	18	8

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.

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